

Message Text

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INFO AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN

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AMEMBASSY NIAMEY

AMEMBASSY NDJAMENA

AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE

AMCONSUL DOUALA

AMCONSUL KADUNA

AMCONSUL IBADAN

C O N F I D E N T I A L LAGOS 7367

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PGOV, PINS, PINT, NI

SUBJECT: APPRAISAL OF BRIGADIER MOHAMMED'S JULY 30 AND

31 TV APPEARANCES AND HIS INITIAL MOVES AS HEAD

OF STATE

REF: LAGOS 7254

SUMMARY: WITH HIS BROADCAST TO THE NATION JULY 30 AND HIS
REMARKS JULY 31 AT THE SWEARING-IN OF NEW GOVERNORS, BRIG.

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MURTALA MOHAMMED TURNED A CRISP, NEW PAGE IN HIS CAREER.

HIS PRESENTATIONS WERE BRIEF AND DECISIVE, DEALING IN A POSITIVE WAY WITH VARIOUS OF THE PROBLEMS WHICH HAVE BESET THE GOWON GOVERNMENT AND ESTABLISHING A REMARKABLY CONSTRUCTIVE TONE. HE REASSURED FOREIGN INVESTORS AND LEFT THE CLEAR IMPRESSION THAT HIS WILL BE A GOVERNMENT OF DOERS, PRIMARILY CONCERNED WITH DOMESTIC PROBLEMS, LEAVING FOREIGN AFFAIRS IN THE BACK SEAT FOR THE TIME BEING. THE REAL TEST WILL COME WHEN MOHAMMED, ESSENTIALLY AN IMPATIENT, DRIVING, RUTHLESS MAN, COMES UP AGAINST PROBLEMS WHICH CAN NOT BE SOLVED BY THE NUMBERS. FRUSTRATION COULD EVEN ENCOURAGE A HARsher OUTLOOK AND A SEARCH FOR SCAPEGOATS, WITH ATTENDANT IMPLICATIONS FOR THE LONG-TERM POLICIES, SUPPORT AND STABILITY OF THE REGIME. END SUMMARY.

1. THE NEW HEAD OF STATE AND COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE ARMED FORCES, BRIG. MURTALA MOHAMMED, MADE A POSITIVE IMPRESSION WITH HIS FIRST TWO PUBLIC APPEARANCES ON TELEVISION. HIS MANNER WAS STRAIGHTFORWARD, BUSINESS-LIKE, DEVOID OF POSTURING OR EXCESSIVE RECRIMINATIONS, AND HIS DELIVERY WAS STRONG AND ASSURED. HIS GENERAOUS TREATMENT OF GOWON AND OTHER FORMER FMG LEADERS GAVE AN IMPRESSION OF STATESMAN-LIKE RESTRAINT AND HELPED DEFUSE THE POSSIBILITY OF IMMEDIATE CHALLENGE TO HIS ASSUMPTION OF POWER. THIS HAS BEEN REINFORCED BY GOWON'S ACCEPTANCE OF THIS OWN FATE AND DEVELOPMENTS WITHIN NIGERIA.

2. MOHAMMED'S JUSTIFICATIONS FOR THE COUP WAS STRIKINGLY GENERAL AND EVEN VAGUE, CONSISTING ESSENTIALLY OF REFERENCES TO " LACK OF CONSULTATION, INDECISION, INDISCIPLINE AND EVEN NEGLECT", AND TO GOWON'S INACCESSIBILITY AND REJECTION OF ADVICE, INCLUDING ADVICE FROM TRADITIONAL RULERS AND INTELLECTUALS. MOHAMMED'S REFERENCE IN BOTH SPEECHES TO THE LACK OF RESPECT AND ATTENTION TO TRADITIONAL RULERS APPEARS TO REFLECT THE NORTHERN VIEWPOINT, ALTHOUGH THERE ARE INDEED OBAS AND OTHER TRADITIONAL RULERS IN THE WEST (AND SOUTH). IN HIS REMARKS, MOHAMMED CAPITALIZED EFFECTIVELY ON GOWON'S PREVIOUS DIFFICULTIES AND HESITATIONS IN A NUMBER OF AREAS. A. MOHAMMED'S CLEAN SWEEP OF THE FORMER GOVERNMENT LEADERS AND GOVERNORS OF THE TWELVE STATES GAVE AN IMPRESSION OF STRENGTH AND DECISIVENESS AND WILL APPEAL TO MANY WHO FEEL

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THE OLD LEADERS HAD LONG OVERSTAYED THEIR TIME.

B. REMOVAL OF MAJOR-GENERALS OR EQUIVALENT GOT RID OF ADEBAYO, WHO HAD BEEN ON THE ROLLS BUT UNEMPLOYED FOR LAST THREE YEARS; EJOOR, WHO THOUGH COMPETENT LACKED RESPECT OF FELLOW OFFICERS; EKPO AND KAM-SALEM, WHO WERE BOTH AILING; AND WEY, WHO WAS GRANDFATHERLY FIGURE-HEAD.

C. REMOVAL OF MAJOR-GENERAL HASSAN KATSINA, ON THE OTHER

HAND, IS MORE ENIGMATIC, AS HE WAS MUCH RUMORED TO BE
CLOSELY ASSOCIATED

WITH THE COUP. WE WOULD NOT RULE HIM
OUT AS A POSSIBLE OR POTENTIAL EMINENCE GRISE.

D. MOHAMMED'S ACCUSATION OF CORRUPTION AND MISUSE OF
OFFICE BY TOP OFFICIAL SOF THE GOWON GOVERNMENT WAS OF COURSE
JUSTIFIED, AND HIS CALL FOR PROBITY AND OPENNESS TO CONSTRUCTIVE
OPINION WILL BE WIDELY WELCOMED, THOUGH PERHAPS WITH
SOME SECPTICISM.

E. POSTPONEMENT OF FESTAC WAS OBVIOUS, EASY AND WILL BE
POPULAR IN MANY QUARTERR WHERE THE FESTIVAL HAS BEEN
CRITICIZED AS GRANDIOUS, BADLY PREPARED, EXPENSIVE AND
RIDDLED WITH CORRUPTION. REMOVAL OF THE COMMANDING PRIORITY
ACCORDED FEATAC SHOULD, MOREOVER, EASE PORT AND AIRPORT
FREIGHT CONGESTION.

F. SCRAPPING OF ALBATROSS 1973 CENSUS APPEARS TO HAVE
BEEN A SOP TO YOURBAS AND WILL BE WELCOMED BY MANY OTHERS
WHO CHALLENGED THE HONESTY OF THE COUNT. IT SERVES TO CLEAR
THE AIR AND LEAVES NIGERIA WITH THE 1963 CENSUS, IN WHICH
THE HAUSA-FULANI NORTH, WHICH PREDOMINATES IN THE PRESENT
REGIME, ALREADY HAD A MAJORITY POSITION.

G. IN CONTEXT OF THE NEW REGIME'S ACTION-ORIENTATION,
PROPECTIVE APPOINTMENT OF A PANEL TO ADVISE ON THE QUESTION
OF NEW STATES MAY PROMISE SPEEDY RESOLUTION OF THIS MUCH-
DISCUSSED ISSUE. NO COMMITMENT WAS MADE TO CREATE MORE
STATES,
HOWEVER.

H. PLAN TO ESTABLISH A PANEL "TO ADVISE ON QUESTION
OF THE FEDERAL CAPITAL" IS SOMETHING OF A SURPRISE, AS THIS
WAS PREVIOUSLY NOT UNDER OFFICIAL CONSIDERATION(ALTHOUGH
MUCH TALKED ABOUT BY THOSE EXPOSED TO LAGOS TRAFFIC,
SEWERAGE AND HOUSING PROBLEMS). ITS MENTION NOW
SEEMS TO REFLECT NORTHERN AND MIDDLE-BELT VIEWPOINT.
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I. UNCERTAIN WHETHER REMOVAL OF "CIVIL" COMMISSIONERS
APPLIES ONLY TO CIVILIANS, BUT EVEN THERE, REMOVAL OF
FESTAC COMMISSIONER ENAHARO AND ABRASIVE-TONGUED INFORMATIONS
COMMISSIONER CLARK WILL EVOKE FEW TEARS.

J. REVIEW OF "POLITICAL PROGRAM" IS NON-COMMITTAL STOP-GAP
THAT COULD COVER QUESTIONS OF IDEOLOGY AND POLITICAL POLICY
ON WHICH GOVERNMENT APPEAENTLY FEELS IT SHOULD FOCUS ONE
DAY,AS WELL AS QUESTION OF RETURN TO CIVILIAN RULE. THESE
MATTERS APPEAR TO BE FAR FROM FRONT-BURNER, AND WHOLE TONE
OF MOHAMMED'S REMARKS SEEMED TO REFLECT DETERMINATION TO
CLEAN UP WIDE SPECTURM OF DOMESTIC ILLS WITH NO TIMETABLE
FOR COMPLETION YET SET.

K. ESTABLISNEMTN OF NATIONAL COUNCIL OF STATES MAY BE
INTENDED
TO PROVIDE BODY FOR NEW GOVERNORS, WHO ARE NO

LONGER REPRESENTED ON SUPREME MILITARY COUNCIL. IT ALSO PROVIDES ADDITIONAL POSITIONS FOR YOUNGER OFFICERS AGITATING FOR A PIECE OF THE ACTION. L. INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS CAME IN AT THE END AS SOMETHING OF AN AFTERTHOUGHT TO REASSURE OTHER NATIONS AND FOREIGN INVESTORS. IT IS INTERESTING THAT MOHAMMED NEGLECTED TO MENTION ECOWAS AND DID NOT MENTION SOUTHERN AFRICA OR LIBERATION ACTIVITIES, SPECIFICALLY, ALTHOUGH HE ANNOUNCED ACTIVE SUPPORT OAU.

3. ALL TOGETHER, BRIGADIER MOHAMMED'S TWO SHORT SPEECHES WERE CLEAR, WELL ORGANIZED AND FORCEFUL. JUDGING FROM HIS REPUTATION AND THAT OF BRIGADIER OBASANJO, WE EXPECT NEW REGIME TO BE SOMEWHAT ROUGH AND IMPATIENT IN DEALING

WITH PROBLEMS SUCH AS PORT CONGESTION, LAGOS TRAFFIC, FUEL SUPPLY, ETC. WHEN MORE RESTRAINED MEASURES ARE NOT SUFFICIENT, THE LEADERSHIP MAY NOT HESITATE TO TAKE MORE DRASTIC ACTION, POSSIBLY INCLUDING THE USE OF MILITARY PERSONNEL AND THE APPLICATION OF FORCE. THIS MAY PRODUCE INITIAL SUCCESSES, BUT FOR THE LONG HAUL IT IS LIKELY TO BUILD UP RESENTMENTS, ENCOURAGE POLITICAL POLARIZATION AND BASIC INSTABILITY IN NIGERIAN SOCIETY AND POLITICS. FRUSTRATION OVER THE OBJECTIVE DIFFICULTIES OF SOME OF THE PROBLEMS THEY FACE COULD ENCOURAGE THE REGIME TO

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LOOK FOR SCAPEGOATS, POSSIBLY AMONG FOREIGN BUSINESS AND OTHER ACTIVITIES IN NIGERIA. WITH THE MODERATING INFLUENCE OF GENERAL GOWON OUT OF THE WAY, THE ATTITUDES AND FUTURE COURSE OF THE NIGERIAN GOVERNMENT ARE THUS LIKELY TO BECOME MORE UNPREDICTABLE AND POSSIBLY MORE ARBITRARY.

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